



University of California, Berkeley

Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter

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Newsletter of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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your comments and suggestions.

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LIBRARY-P.A.O.I.

Notes from the Chair

On November 20, 1998, we were saddened to learn of the brutal murder of Galina Starovoitova, a long-time friend of the Slavic Center. The latest victim of the violence that has so undermined Russia's civic culture in recent years, Galina Starovoitova was a member of the State Duma from St. Petersburg and a courageous and outspoken advocate of democratic reforms. An ardent defender of human rights and minorities, she championed the cause of Crimean Tatars, Soviet Germans, Jews, and most famously the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh. While her career as a scholar was less well known in the West, she was also a distinguished ethnographer, with over one hundred scholarly articles on the problems of ethnic minorities in the former USSR. She conducted extensive fieldwork in the Caucasus, and her scholarship has received international recognition. Her most recent visit to Berkeley came in the fall 1994, when we were fortunate to have her participate in a conference on Russian federalism and nationality policy.

Galina Starovoitova's death reminds us once again that the sudden and unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union has been followed by a remarkable series of unanticipated consequences in the region. All of this has provided scholars with some of the most challenging intellectual, strategic, and moral problems of the late twentieth century. The Center remains committed to understanding these transformations from a multidisciplinary, comparative, and historical perspective.

During the spring semester 1999, we have planned a rich and varied program of conferences, seminars, brown bag lunches, and lectures. The Twenty-third Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, to be held in Berkeley on Friday, March 12, will feature roundtable presentations on the topic "New Elites in Post-Communist Societies." Colleagues from both campuses will analyze the political, socioeconomic and cultural elites of post-Communist countries of East Europe and the former Soviet Union. We will take up a range of issues, including continuities and changes in the composition, role, and attitudes of particular elites; the context for elites (e.g., commercialization of culture, appearance of a market economy, new political institutions); and the popular conceptions and representations of elites.

Our Annual Teachers Outreach Conference, scheduled for April 10 and 11, will focus on "Coping with Crisis: International Responses to Instability and Disorder in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union." The speakers will address changes in world security that have regional as well as global repercussions. Topics will include the new role of NATO after the Cold War, the division of responsibility among the UN, NATO, and OSCE for maintaining order in the Balkans and elsewhere, and the record of Russian peacekeeping efforts in the former Soviet Union's conflict zones. We expect the conference to benefit social science teachers who regularly deal with such questions in the classroom as well as members of our community. Information about the conference will be mailed in February.

The Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies will co-sponsor the Fifth Annual Caucasus and Caspian Littoral Conference on April 30. The theme of this year's conference is "State Building and the Reconstruction of Shattered Societies." The conference will address the prospects for democratic consolidation and economic reform; Russia's impact on the region; social welfare, coping strategies and cultural resources enabling people to survive; and the role of the international community.

The Carnegie Group, "Russia on the Eve of the Twenty-first Century: Stability or Disorder," continues to hold monthly seminars. A gathering of all the authors contributing to an edited volume will be held in mid-May. Monthly meetings of the Mellon Sawyer Seminar, "Entrepreneurs, Entrepreneurialism, and Democracy in Communist and Post-Communist Societies of Asia, Eastern Europe, and the (former) Soviet Union," will also continue through the spring semester. The seminar is open to faculty and graduate students.

Joining us for this promising semester are three visiting scholars. Leila Aliyeva, a prominent specialist in Azeri foreign policy, has arrived from Azerbaijan to be our Ford

Visiting Scholar on the Caucasus. Dr. Aliyeva will lead an informal seminar on geopolitics and its impact on domestic politics in the Caucasus. Sergei Arutiunov, chairman of the Department of Caucasian Studies at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in Moscow, will be teaching two courses through the anthropology department this semester. Daniel Daianu, former Minister of Finance of Romania, has joined us as a visiting professor at the International and Area Studies Teaching Programs. Dr. Daianu will teach a course, "Economy and Society during the Post-Communist Transformation," through Political Economic of Industrial Societies program of IAS.

On behalf of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, I want to take this opportunity to wish you all a peaceful New Year!

Victoria Bonnell
Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies
Professor, Department of Sociology

Notes from BPS

The financial meltdown and deteriorating economic conditions in Russia over the past six months have reminded us that the region we study is still highly volatile and deeply troubled, and indeed it will likely remain so for many years to come. My own view has been and remains (although I confess that it is by no means unique) that the future of the non-Russian Soviet successor states and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the future of the countries of Eastern Europe are tied to the fate of Russia. If stability and internal order do not return to the Russian Federation, if the Russian economy continues to deteriorate and the standard of living of average Russians further declines, if a government comes to power in Moscow that is prone to demagoguery and uses an assertive foreign policy to cover up for its own domestic policy failures, then not only Russia herself but also her neighbors, both near and not-so-near, will inevitably suffer. But above all, a government in Moscow that is explicitly anti-Western will make for a far more dangerous world for all of us as we enter the coming century.

None of this is inevitable—Russia may well (and, being an optimist, I think probably will) muddle through. But neither is it impossible. Regardless, the Great Drama of the Soviet collapse is far from over, and the mission of our Program—to facilitate the efforts of our affiliated faculty to carry out research on the region and to help train new scholars of the highest quality—remains as important as ever, even if the public, and indeed many foundations, feel a strong measure of crisis, fatigue, and disenchantment with our region.

Our programmatic activities this past fall included a public roundtable discussion entitled "Crisis in Russia," held on September 17. The panel featured **Michael McFaul** (Political Science, Stanford University); **Steven Fish** (Political Science, Berkeley); **Josef Brada**, (Economics, Arizona State University and Visiting Scholar, CSEES); and finally myself. Following the roundtable, Michael McFaul led a seminar as part of our ongoing research project "Russia on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century,"

funded by the Carnegie Corporation. Other Carnegie seminars this term were led by **Daniel Treisman** (Political Science, UCLA), who made a presentation entitled "Making Sense of Russia's Tax Crisis"; **Barry Ickes** (Economics, Pennsylvania State), who discussed his *Foreign Affairs* article, "Russia's Economic Crisis and the Virtual Economy"; and **Veljko Vujacic** (Sociology, Oberlin), who made a presentation entitled "Neither Solzhenitsyn's Russia nor the Weimar Republic: The Curious Weakness of Russian Nationalism." Summaries of the panel presentations and seminars can be found on our website (see below).

Our initiative on the Caucasus and the Caspian littoral states continued apace. Public lectures were given by **Elkhan Nuriyev**, Director, Center for International Studies, Baku and Associate Professor of Political Science, Caucasus University, Azerbaijan ("The Azerbaijan Presidential Election and Azeri Foreign Policy"); **John Dunlop**, Senior Researcher, Hoover Institution, Stanford University ("Witnessing History: Monitoring Azerbaijan's Presidential Elections"); **Stephan Astourian**, the William Saroyan Visiting Professor of Armenian Studies, UC Berkeley ("From Ter Petrossian to Kocharian: Causes and Prospects of the Transition in Armenia"); and **Thomas Goltz**, Independent Journalist and Filmmaker ("A View From The Front: Media Coverage of the Post-Soviet Caucasus"). The Slavic Center and the Armenian Studies Program also co-sponsored a talk by **Richard G. Hovannisian** (History, UCLA) entitled "Unresolved Issues in Twentieth-Century Armenian History." Each of the talks will be summarized in our forthcoming Caucasus Newsletter (issue 7, winter 1998/99—those interested in subscribing can contact Sasha Radovich at (510) 643-6737 or by e-mail at bsp@socrates.berkeley.edu). This spring we will continue to sponsor public lectures and will host Leila Alieva from Baku as our visiting Caucasus scholar. Finally, our annual Caucasus conference, which this year is entitled "State Building and the Reconstruction of Shattered Societies," will take place on April 30.

Our graduate student/faculty seminar series this fall included presentations by **Robin Brooks** (Political Science) entitled "Movin' On Up: Bulgaria's Relocation from Europe's Ghetto to the Suburbs" (see the summary in this issue); **Barbara Lehmbruch** and **Daniel Ziblatt** (Political Science) entitled "The German Elections: Implications for Post-Communist Transitions"; and **Professor Steven Fish** (Political Science) entitled "The Fall of Meciar and the Demise of 'Thugocracy' in Slovakia."

There are two new additions to our working paper series. Our own Victoria Bonnell and George Breslauer have written a paper entitled "Soviet and Post-Soviet Area Studies" that will be included in a forthcoming volume "Rethinking Area Studies," edited by David Szanton. We also now have available "The Geopolitics of Oil, Gas, and Ecology in the Caucasus and Caspian Basin," a report from our May 1998 Caucasus conference. We expect to publish at least two more working papers this spring: "Prisoners of

the Caucasus: Cultural Myths and Media Representations of the Chechen Conflict" by Harsha Ram, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures; and "From Ter-Petrossian to Kocharian: Leadership Change in Armenia" by Stephen Astourian, the William Saroyan Visiting Professor this year. To order copies, visit our website or contact Sasha Radovich at (510) 643-6737 or by e-mail at bsp@socrates.berkeley.edu.

Finally, I would like to encourage you to visit our upgraded website <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp>. In addition to spiffy new graphics, visitors will find a listing of funding opportunities for graduate students and faculty, course offerings for spring 1999, and a link to a calendar of past and upcoming BPS and Slavic Center events. A list of available working papers and the full text of past newsletters can be found on our "Publications" page, while a list of staff, affiliated faculty and graduate students, and visiting scholars, with links to their own websites where available, can be accessed from our homepage. There is also a separate site for our Caucasus and Caspian littoral initiative with, inter alia, links to useful websites with information about the region. Thanks to Alexandra Wood for all her hard work and creativity on the project.

Edward W. Walker
Executive Director
Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies

Movin' On Up: Bulgaria's Transition From the Ghetto of Europe to the Suburbs

Robin S. Brooks

Robin S. Brooks is a Ph.D. candidate in political science specializing in East European and comparative politics. Her dissertation will be on ethnic self-identification, comparing Bulgarian Muslims, Yugoslav Albanians, and Hungarian Roma. Her forthcoming article in the Spring 1999 issue of Peace Review is entitled "Ethnicity and Class in Bulgaria."

Eastern Europe, and the Balkan countries in particular, can be characterized as the ghetto of Europe. U.C. Berkeley Political Science Professor Ken Jowitt defines a ghetto as a society which is divisive, antagonistic, and violently weak, and in which life is organized "more privately than publicly, more along hierarchical than associational lines, and more collectively than individually." Ghetto societies have four attributes: an extraordinary incidence of rumor, a tendency towards suspicion, short time horizons, and violent weakness, often manifested in gang-style organized crime. During the Communist and immediate post-Communist period, Bulgaria fit this description. In fact, Bulgaria already possessed the attributes of a ghetto even before Communism. The legacy of the Ottoman millet system, in place in the Balkans from the late fourteenth century to the late nineteenth century, was to strengthen family identities and the mechanical division of labor and to institutionalize a disconnectedness between rulers and the ruled.

The Communist policy of agricultural collectivization only reinforced these features of Balkan society, especially in Bulgaria. At the end of the Second World War, Bulgarian society was still predominantly agricultural, and most Bulgarian peasants were poor and illiterate. For this reason, peasants in Bulgaria were glad, relative to other Eastern European farmers, to switch to an agricultural system that eased their poverty. Moreover, unlike other countries' collectivization schemes, the Bulgarian version built collectives around existing village structures, often taking the names of the original villages, thereby reinforcing collective identities. Peasants themselves were given new titles such as "combine operator," "tractor driver," and other prestigious euphemisms reserved for New Socialist Workers, alleviating the stigma that Communism usually attached to peasants. Bulgarian collectivization did all this without breaking up families and kinship networks. At the same time, however, collectivization and state centralization reinforced the disconnections among villages, and between the villages and the state leadership. Suspicion abounded, and rumors led people to worry that other villages might be receiving more benefits from the regime than their own.

The urbanization campaigns of the 1950s gave these rumors and suspicions an opportunity to spread to the
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cities, where the other characteristics of ghetto societies arose and flourished until 1997, seven years after the fall of Communism. Rumors abounded: "There will be a shortage of sunflower oil this week"; "the water will be back on tomorrow"; in the post-Communist period, "the government is stealing the wheat"; and even "there is gold beneath the Parliament building." Under these circumstances, people felt that they could neither trust anyone nor assume that anyone else would take care of their basic needs. Consequently they resorted to kinship networks and black markets to obtain both necessary commodities and social support. After 1989 the absence of adequate contract law only deepened distrust of strangers and officials and reliance on the informal sector. Suspicion manifested itself in both the Communist and post-Communist periods in a tendency toward conspicuous immediate consumption—what Jowitt calls "short time horizons." Since people did not trust their money to banks, for example, they preferred to sink what they could into flashy durable goods—mobile telephones and foreign cars, for instance—instead of planning for the future. In the post-Communist period, thousands of Bulgarians, thinking of their own short-term interests rather than the long-term good of their country, emigrated to Western Europe and North America, another indication of short time horizons. Finally, violent weakness appeared in Bulgaria, ushered in by mafias with little political, economic, or even physical clout, but with a strong desire to get out of the ghetto by accumulating wealth and power as quickly as possible.

In January 1997 the situation in Bulgaria changed significantly. The end of 1996 had seen incredible inflation (over 1000 percent for the year), and rumors and suspicions turned to evidence confirming who was causing the crisis. It became clear that the government *had* in fact been stealing the wheat, and that Bulgarians were forced to buy it back from abroad at two to three times what then-Prime Minister Zhan Videnov's Socialist government had sold it for. Once average Bulgarians were sure who their opponent was, they were able to work together to overthrow the regime and to force free elections for a new Parliament. Bulgarians demonstrated outside the Parliament building in Sofia for thirty days until the Socialist cabinet resigned and called for new elections. For the first time in Bulgarian history, though, these protests did not simply pit one party

against another; instead, they represented what Ivan Krástev, a leading Bulgarian pundit, has called "a case of civil society as a whole against the status quo....The politics of radical change provided room for new, nontraditional players in Balkan politics: the students and ordinary citizens who became street protesters."

The demonstrations of December 1996 and January 1997 represented the end of ghetto culture in Bulgaria. The incidence of rumor radically decreased thanks to the influential broadcasts of independent media organizations such as Radio Darik, whose coverage of the protests was mysteriously broadcast over the loudspeakers in the square outside the Parliament building on January 10, 1997. Radio Darik and other independent stations broadcast live amidst the chanting and whistle-blowing, and despite tear gas and a storming of the Parliament. Since then, independent news media have only grown and gained influence. Although the media is one realm in which the transition from authoritarianism has not yet been fully consolidated, Ivan Kostov's democratic government, elected in April of 1997, has indicated its commitment to protecting freedom of the press. In October of this year President Stoyanov vetoed a bill introduced by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) to secure Parliamentary appointments to the directorships of the national television and radio stations, which might have impeded political neutrality in the state media. The National Assembly has subsequently revised the bill to reflect Stoyanov's main objection and has added provisions for state broadcasts in minority languages, including Turkish.

With the growth of free and independent media, rumors in Bulgaria have become scandals, and the public expects the government to react to them. So far, the new government of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) does not appear to be directly involved in any of these scandals, which has enhanced the public's belief in the legitimacy of the new regime. This summer's biggest scandal, for example, appeared in the newspapers the day it was discovered and occupied the front pages of most periodicals for the ensuing week. "Sugargate," as the incident came to be called, was met with an immediate investigation, which uncovered a ring of smugglers, led by members of the former Communist elite and Bulgaria's largest business conglomerate, Multigroup, who were attempting to smuggle sugar out of Bulgaria in much the same way as they had smuggled the wheat out a year and a half earlier. No members of Kostov's government or the UDF were found to be involved in the scandal, and Kostov's interior minister, Bogomil Bonev, drove immediately to Varna, the headquarters of the smuggling operation, and arrested the perpetrators himself. While in Varna, Bonev also began an investigation of the border guards and bureaucrats in the Black Sea port city and cracked down on corrupt officials there.

Knowing that the regime is both willing and able to put a stop to corruption and organized crime has given the Bulgarian people a renewed sense of political efficacy and

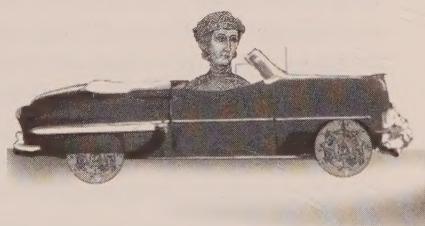
optimism. Under these conditions, people's time horizons have grown longer. As bank reform is finalized, privatization accelerates, and contract law is consolidated, people will begin looking even farther into the future, and will trust market mechanisms rather than kinship networks to provide them with necessary goods. Already, a Bulgarian middle class has begun to appear. The stabilization of the national currency, the lev, has facilitated the growth of this new class. (A currency board was adopted in July of 1997, pinning the lev to the Deutschmark, and radically reducing inflation from 670 percent in 1997 to 9 percent in 1998). Unemployment is decreasing—after hitting highs of 20 percent at the beginning of the year, it fell to 11.4 percent by June of 1998, its lowest rate since October 1996. At the same time, wages are rising—this fall the average Bulgarian is making 111 dollars monthly compared to 40 dollars at the end of 1996. As economic conditions improve, emigration is likely to slow significantly. These economic achievements, along with the Interior Ministry's crackdown on organized crime, are likely to eliminate a great deal of violent weakness, the final characteristic of ghetto culture. Underground supply networks will cease to be a main source of support.

Bulgaria is still the second poorest country in Eastern Europe (after Albania), but since April 1997 the economic situation there has only improved, and economists both in Bulgaria and abroad remain optimistic about the prospects not only for stability, but also for growth. In the first quarter of 1998 alone, the Bulgarian gross domestic product (GDP) grew by 18.5 percent. Of course, this figure is as high as it is in part due to the miserable state of the economy during the crisis at the beginning of 1997, but total projected GDP growth for this year is 4 percent, which is admirable by any country's standard and particularly good for a post-Communist country. Moreover, the Russian economic crisis has had only a minimal effect on the Bulgarian economy so far. Some pundits even expect the Russian crisis to effect the Bulgarian economy positively, as investors shying away from the turbulent Russian market are now looking for stable East European alternatives. At the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank this fall, the seminar on Bulgaria was one of the best attended. According to Merrill Lynch Vice President Andrew Cunningham, "two years ago the Bulgaria seminar was a very popular presentation because Bulgaria was on the verge of default. Now it is popular because people are desperate to find something to buy which is not on the verge of default." Accordingly, foreign direct investment in the Bulgarian economy more than quadrupled from 109 million dollars in 1996 to 498 million dollars in 1997, and continues to increase this year.

In addition to economic achievements, Bulgaria has improved in three important realms: the consolidation of a political elite and democratic institutions, the consolidation of civil society, and the elimination of organized crime. Before January of 1997, there had been no opportunity for a stable political elite to form and gain influence over the

Bulgarian polity because elections were held every year since the fall of Communism. The constant turnover of the elite also prevented the consolidation of institutions or laws, since no government was in power long enough to follow through on its projects. The current government, however, has been in power for over a year and a half now and continues to enjoy a high level of public support. Many Bulgarian observers expect Kostov to serve out his full five-year mandate, and his cabinet, which was formed primarily from "incumbents" (politicians who had already been serving in Parliament for several terms), has already taken significant steps down the long road of democratic consolidation. As the elite consolidates, so does the polity. Bulgaria is one of the few post-Communist states which can claim to have a true party system at this point. The UDF has a clear political and economic platform, which goes beyond mere repudiation of the Communist past and of the BSP. The BSP likewise has been forced to adopt clear stances on salient issues. Consequently, both parties have developed stable constituencies who help define party platforms and hold politicians to their campaign promises. Political scientists in Bulgaria can accurately identify and predict the voting behavior of not only Blue (UDF) and Red (BSP) regions, but also neighborhoods and even apartment blocks. Data on voter turnout show that the Red constituency had become disaffected and did not vote in large numbers in the 1996 election, and that a larger population of Blue voters turned out than ever before, but the election's outcome still demonstrated the public's true attachment to one or the other party, and survey data show that this attachment stems from programmatic issues more than anything else.

The second realm of improvement in post-Communist Bulgarian politics has been the consolidation of a civil society. Before the 1997 elections, the relationship between the state and civil society was tense and often conflictual. Civil society was almost nonexistent in the immediate post-Communist period, and by 1995 the Videnov government adopted policies that were actively hostile toward nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), taxing them heavily, severely restricting their activities, and using the press to incite negative public opinion. Videnov was particularly suspicious of the Open Society Foundation and other NGOs associated with Western philanthropist, George Soros, and he established his own competing "Civil Society Development Foundation" with the aim of counterbalancing Soros' influence in Bulgaria. He used the foundation to divert funding from the European Union in order to prevent smaller NGOs from appearing on the Bulgarian scene. Since the elections in 1997, civil society, sometimes known

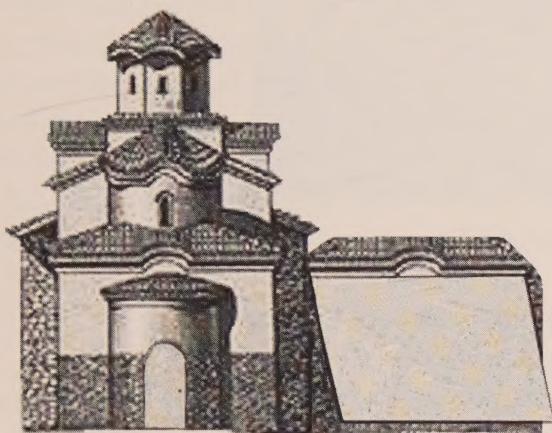


as the Third Sector, has remained divided along Red and Blue lines, but has grown significantly. President Stoyanov and Prime Minister Kostov are in favor of cultivating a strong civil society in Bulgaria and are committed to providing legislative, economic (to the extent possible), and moral support to emerging NGOs. Their wives have each established a Third Sector organization since 1996.

Three varieties of NGOs have sprung up in post-Communist Bulgaria. The first type includes NGOs whose founders and employees truly believe in their work and who aim to service the people of Bulgaria directly, rather than changing the public or the government as a whole. A prominent example of this type of organization is the one led by the "Bulgarian Mother Theresa," an eighty-year-old woman who brings free food and medical supplies to bedridden elderly Bulgarians. NGOs like this one make up about 10 to 15 percent of the entire Third Sector population. The second type of civil society organizations in Bulgaria are think tanks, which comprise 40 percent of the Third Sector. These organizations inform and advise the government and often succeed at effecting real political change in the country. Staffed by unemployed professors and intellectuals, these NGOs serve two functions: supplying reasoned policy analyses, predictions, and prescriptions, as well as employment for highly qualified academics. Since they are usually run with funds donated by Soros, the EU, or other foreign sources, these NGOs provide an important service that the government would not otherwise be able to afford. Finally, another 40 percent of the Bulgarian NGO population is made up of what Atanas Gotchev, chair of the Union of Bulgarian Foundations, has called "wheeler dealers." Although these NGOs usually accomplish the projects that they receive funding to carry out, their staff are usually attracted to the Third Sector not by any overwhelming desire to serve society, but rather by the attractive salaries available in nonprofit organizations with foreign funding. The average NGO employee earns about three hundred dollars per month, or three times the average Bulgarian salary. In any case, the presence of over four thousand nongovernmental organizations in Bulgaria today speaks to the growth of civil society in the country, and is a cause for optimism about the consolidation of democracy in Bulgaria.

The third realm of recent improvements in Bulgarian society is the crackdown on organized crime. The Ministry of the Interior, under Bogomil Bonev, has taken radical steps to reduce the influence of organized crime in Bulgaria. Bonev has switched supervision of the border control from the State Security to the army, and has begun reorganizing and retraining the border army to handle smugglers. He has dismissed corrupt bureaucrats in the Interior Ministry and border patrol, and in particular has cracked down on officials with explicit ties to "insurance companies," a euphemism for mafias in Bulgaria. The ministry has launched a successful program to catch automobile thieves and mafiosi by checking the titles to

expensive foreign cars, as well as the tax records of their owners. The ministry has followed through on President Stoyanov's promise to American President Bill Clinton during a 1997 visit to Washington, D.C. by putting an almost complete stop to illegal production of compact discs, videocassettes, and computer software protected by international copyright laws. Finally, the Interior Ministry has begun more closely controlling the movement of commodities from their warehouses to border crossings, in order to



prevent smuggling. Unlike previous Bulgarian governments, the ministry responds to incidents quickly and investigates thoroughly.

Bulgaria's extraordinary progress over the past year and a half has led to much speculation among social scientists about what has made these achievements possible. At a panel discussion on the Russian crisis sponsored by the Slavic Center at U.C. Berkeley this fall, two competing causal explanations surfaced. Michael McFaul, a political science professor at Stanford University, suggested that studies of Russia might benefit from the analysis of what he called the "Bulgaria Metaphor." He speculated that in Bulgaria economic crisis and hyperinflation made voters want reform, and for that reason alone, a truly reformist government was elected and has followed through on its campaign promises. Berkeley political science professor M. Steven Fish offered an explanation that credited the new government more than its electorate, and therefore suggested a top-down approach to change in Russia. Fish's "Kostov Model" assumes that Bulgaria's transition began when a right-center party (the UDF) came to power with a strong executive (Prime Minister Ivan Kostov) willing to get his hands dirty. Fish explained that the combination of a reform package designed by this type of government with a successful anti-corruption campaign might be the way to achieve the consolidation of democracy in a transitional society.

In truth, it is probably a combination of McFaul's and Fish's models, along with several important additions, that most accurately explains the success that Bulgaria has

experienced since the crisis and protests of January 1997. It is certainly true that mass discontent with the country's economic situation led to the protests which deposed the Videnov government. This discontent also prevented the Red electorate from turning out to the polls in 1998 to support the BSP, and it contributed to support for the UDF in those elections. Furthermore, Kostov's skillful leadership has played an important part in shaping the post-election outcomes. However, it would be a mistake to credit Kostov alone with the success of his government. In the creation and implementation of his reform package, Kostov has relied on advice from nongovernmental think tanks and from foreign consultants. The implementation of reform would be impossible without the practical support of cabinet members and ministries, and its enforcement is dependent upon widespread public willingness to go along with the measures.

The achievements of the Kostov government have been due in part to Kostov himself, and in part to at least four of his "right hand men." First of all, Anne MacGuirk, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) liaison in Bulgaria, has used her position to prescribe reforms for both the economy and the political system. Before Bulgaria can receive loans from the IMF, it must comply with the fund's dictates dealing with inflation, unemployment, and privatization. Many Bulgarian politicians despise MacGuirk for what they perceive as meddling, but without her help, it would have been difficult for Kostov to create a package that was both good for his country's economy and acceptable to international lending organizations. Kostov deserves credit for having the intelligence to follow MacGuirk's suggestions, and for possessing the leadership ability to convince the National Assembly to approve the IMF-dictated reforms, but he still relies on Deputy Prime Minister (and Minister of Industry and Privatization) Aleksandr Bozhkov to implement the reforms. Thanks to the cooperation of these three figures, Bulgaria was promised 1.9 billion dollars in loans from the IMF, World Bank, and European Union this October. The first disbursements of the loans have already been made.

When it comes to international diplomacy, Kostov still relies on President Stoyanov to make a good impression abroad and to close important deals with foreign governments. As much as Kostov might like to gain more of the diplomatic limelight, Stoyanov's trips abroad have had more impact on Bulgaria's relations with other countries. This summer, when Stoyanov flew to Washington to meet with Bill Clinton, and Kostov flew to Moscow to meet with Boris Yeltsin at the height of the Russian economic crisis, Stoyanov's trip got front-page coverage in most newspapers, while Kostov's trip was hardly covered at all. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that Kostov's trip had few important implications for Bulgarian domestic politics, while Stoyanov's visit to the U.S. was indirectly responsible for Bulgaria's receipt of a six-million-dollar grant from

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The Slavic Center would like to sincerely thank Robert and Vera Eby for their donation of a collection of photographs to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. The donation was made in the name of their son, James Peter Eby, an undergraduate studying Russian history at Cal.

James is a descendant of the Kropotkin family. Other descendants of this famous family who should be mentioned in connection with this gift include Alex Alden, Elizabeth Sidorov, Vera Sidorov Eby, and Christopher Eby.

The twenty-three photographs, which were taken in Siberia by an unknown photographer apparently in the early 1900s, have been within the family for some time. Because of its potential historical and ethnographic importance, the collection will be included in a project that the library will oversee, scanning the images and making them available on the internet. Some of the photographs will then be framed and hung in Center and affiliated department offices.



Outreach Program

History through Literature

Encouraged by the success of last summer's outreach institute for sixth-grade teachers ("History through Literature: Literary Heroes and Villains in the Ancient and Medieval World"), the Office of Resources for International and Area Studies (ORIAS) is offering the workshop again over the course of the 1998–99 and 1999–2000 academic years. The workshop will be offered as a series of five classes to sixth-grade teachers this year and to seventh grade teachers the year after. As noted in the previous issue of our newsletter, the Slavic Center—represented by Slavic Languages and Literatures Professor Ronelle Alexander—contributed a unit on South Slavic Oral Epic to the original workshop. For more information on the class and a detailed summary of the summer institute, please contact us or visit the ORIAS website, at <http://www.ias.berkeley.edu/orias/>.

Outreach Conference

Our annual teachers' conference will take place on April 10–11, 1999, in the Toll Room of the U.C. Berkeley Alumni House. Although the target audience is K–12 teachers as well as community and junior college instructors, anyone with an interest in the region and topic is welcome to attend. This year's theme will be "Coping with Crisis: International Responses to Instability and Conflict in Eastern Europe and Eurasia." We have already lined up Michael Nacht, dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy, to provide his insights as to the role and "division of labor" among organizations such as NATO, the UN, and the OSCE. The conference will not only deal with current issues confronting our area today, but will also offer a review of the past performance of these international bodies in Eastern and Southeast Europe, Russia, and countries of the former Soviet Union.

Registration is required and may be done in advance. A registration fee covers teaching materials, meals, and a reception. For more information, please contact us at (510) 642-3230 or (510) 643-5844.

Improved Website

Finally, the Slavic Center's website has new pages on our outreach activities. In addition to information about the speakers bureau and upcoming conference, the pages include a list of websites on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that teachers may find useful as resources. Please visit the outreach website at <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~csees/outreach/activity.html>, and let us know what you think!

Spring 1999 Courses

Selected Faculty Course Offerings and Selected Area-Related Courses

Department / No.	Title	Instructor
Anthropology 123E	Archaeology of the Mediterranean	M. Stevanovic
Anthropology 128	Special Topics in Archaeology: North-Eastern Siberia	S. Arutiunov
Anthropology 188	Topics in Area Studies: Peoples and Cultures of the Caucasus	S. Arutiunov
Anthropology 189:1	Social/Cultural Anthropology: Culture and International Order	J. Borneman
Anthropology C193	Application of Computing Techniques in Technical Report and Grant Proposal Writing in the Social Sciences	E. Hammel
Anthropology 229B	Archaeological Research Strategies	R. Tringham/L. Wilkie
Comparative Literature 1B:3	History, Literature, and Monarchy	A. McDevitt Miller
Comparative Literature 190:2	Senior Seminar: Radical Individuality	N. Ruttenburg
Demography C193	Current Topics in Population Policy: Introduction to Social Science Computing	E. Hammel
Dramatic Art 151B	Theatre History	M. Gordon
Geography 10	World Regions, Peoples, and States	D. Hooson
History 103B:2	Nations and Nationalism in Europe, 1848–Present	P. Blitstein
History 103B:5	Russian Rebels: Peasants, Workers, Intelligentsia	R. Zelnik
History 103B:8	Stalinism Abroad and at Home	D. Engerman
History 103D:5	Revisiting the Cold War	D. Clemens
History 130B	20th Century Pax Americana	D. Clemens
History 162B	International History	A. Adamthwaite
History 171C	Russia, 1917 to the Present	Y. Slezkine
History 173B	History of the Habsburg Empire, 1740–1918	J. Connelly
History 177B	History of Armenia	S. Astourian
IAS 1	International Forum: Civilizations of Central Asia	H. Ram/A. Kunanbaeva
Music 170	History of Western Music: The 20th Century	R. Taruskin
Near Eastern Studies 298:1	Study Group on the Kazakh Language	A. Kunanbaeva
Near Eastern Studies 298:2	Ancient History of Armenia & Armenian Language	G. Hagopian
PEIS 140	Economy and Society During Post-Communist Transformation	D. Daianu
Political Science 115C	Marxism and Communism	P. Thomas
Political Science 129B	Russia After Communism	M. S. Fish
Political Science 141C	Politics and Government in Eastern Europe	A. Janos
Political Science 2	Introduction to Comparative Politics	R. Price
Political Science 200	Theories of Comparative Politics	A. Janos
Political Science 219	Political Theory Symposium: Marxism	A. J. Gregor
Slavic 5A	Prague Literature	H. Subak-Sharpe
Slavic 5B	Love in Russian Literature	P. Henry
Slavic 101	Practical Russian Phonetics	A. Alexeev
Slavic 130	Medieval Russian Culture	V. Zhivov
Slavic 133	The Novel in Russia and the West: Marriage & Adultery	L. Knapp
Slavic 134C	Dostoevsky	O. Matich
Slavic 146	East/West Encounters	H. Ram
Slavic 149AC	Ideology and Ethnicity: Images of Soviet Russia in American Culture	A. Nesbet
Slavic 151	Readings in Polish Literature	D. Frick
Slavic 188	Russian Prose: Travel Writing	H. Ram
Slavic 222	Introduction to Descriptive Grammar of Slavic Languages	J. Nichols
Slavic 242	18th Century Russian Literature	V. Zhivov
Slavic 280	Graduate Literature Seminar: The 1920s	A. Nesbet
Slavic 280	Graduate Linguistics Seminar	J. Nichols
Slavic 46	20th Century Russian Literature	O. Matich
Sociology 101B	Sociological Theory	G. Eyal
Sociology 190:7	The Sociology of Popular Arts and Audiences	H. Allen
Sociology C193	Introduction to Social Science Computing	E. Hammel

Language Instruction: In addition to the listings above, the Department of Slavic Languages & Literatures offers language courses in Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and Serbian/Croatian.

Library News

As we begin a new year it can be fruitful to spend time reviewing our accomplishments and looking forward to plan and set new goals. Nineteen ninety-eight was a year of startling contrasts. The first part of the year saw serial cancellations and decreased purchasing power of Slavic books due to extreme inflation. The second half was highlighted by the chancellor's promise of significant new funds for the collections and the library's operations. This is the kind of change that we all welcome.

Alongside this significant turn of fortune are two constants that have served as a foundation for the Slavic collections' continued growth and development. Cooperation between the library and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies—both in funding initiatives and in articulating the needs of the campus faculty and students—has been and will continue to be a beneficial and valuable commitment. Cooperation with colleagues at institutions along the West Coast to create a climate of mutual support and expansion of resources has also been significant. These are the kinds of relationships that we hope continue no matter which way the winds of fortune may blow.

Looking Back...

Significant additions to the Berkeley Slavic Collections were made in this past year through funding help from the Center and through sharing costs with other units within the library and abroad.

Our exchange agreement with the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg allowed the library to acquire microfiche for 125 rare titles of Russian women writers of the nineteenth century. These titles are the first installment in creating an unparalleled Western collection of resources in this important area of literary study. In the same vein, funding from the Center allowed the Berkeley Library to add thirteen new women's periodicals from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The number of these newly available women's serials increases to nineteen, when one includes those that the University of Southern California Library purchased under the Pacific Coast Slavic and East European Library Consortium agreement.

A variety of funding sources, including funds from the Center, allowed for the purchase of the large microfiche set "**Armenian Genocide in the U.S. Archives, 1915–1918.**" So too cooperative funding from the law school, main library, and the Slavic Center procured five late-nineteenth century Russian legal periodicals, including the extremely important *Zhurnal Ministerstva iustitsii* (*Journal of the Ministry of Justice*)—all to be housed in the law library in

Boalt Hall.

Study of the Caucasus on campus is being bolstered by the recent purchase of a number of Armenian, Georgian, and Azerbaijani newspapers and journals funded by the Caucasus and Caspian Littoral initiative under the auspices of the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies. Many books from the region are also being acquired through this program.

Russian Jewish Studies will benefit from the recently purchased **YIVO Library Slavic Judaica Collection** containing hundreds of individual volumes. Funding for this acquisition was provided by a combination of Center, library, and Koret Foundation grant funds.

Looking ahead...

Library acquisitions are commonly referred to today as falling into two categories labeled "traditional" (books, journals, newspapers, microfilm, and fiche) and "digital" (products requiring a personal computer for access like free or licensed web sites and CD-ROM products). The titles mentioned above all fall into the former category. While some might think that digital collections are the domain of science and technology, this is far from true. Many resources in the humanities and social sciences now exist in electronic formats—and having data in digital format can have significant advantages.

Since digital products are often large databases and data sets which require a significant outlay of funds, acquisition of them by the library was first limited to works with a broad audience, works like Historical Abstracts or the Modern Language Association Bibliography. These, though of general content, also provide bibliographic access to many Slavic subject areas.

It was considered unreasonable and not cost-effective to acquire digital products in foreign languages or in so-called "narrow" disciplines, especially when acquisitions budgets were in a state of crisis. Attitudes have now changed, and in the year just passed, several important acquisitions were made from funds given to the library by Executive Vice Chancellor Carol Christ specifically for acquiring digital materials.

The **Russian National Bibliography on CD-ROM**, available on a workstation in Doe Library, allows one to perform subject searches over almost twenty years of publications and receive results in an instant. Consider the alternative of performing the same search manually through the Library's set of the weekly *Knizhnaia letopis'*, and one begins to understand the full meaning of the term "digital revolution."

Perhaps the greatest "revolution" can be seen on the

recently licensed **ISI Emerging Markets** web site now available to all members of the Berkeley community either through campus computing accounts or through public computer workstations in the Library. You can now sip your morning coffee and read today's issue of *Moscow Times*, *Kommersant Daily*, or *Népszabadság*, to name just a few of the included titles, from your home or office PC. If you find an article of interest, send it to your email account for later reading or download it to a computer disk to keep in your own personal archive.

Two partnerships will also be part of the plans for the Slavic collections in the coming years. The Pacific Coast Slavic and East European Library Consortium will continue to review and acquire expensive microforms or digital items in collaboration in an effort to expand regional resources. A list of consortial acquisitions will soon be available on the **PACSLAV web page**.

The **California Digital Library (CDL)**, a new program under the auspices of the University of California Office of the President, will also benefit Slavic collections in the future. They have already begun contributing by covering the costs of the **RAS On-line** database which we previously paid for out of our library's funds. Several librarians at Berkeley and at other U.C. campuses have been working on committees suggesting digital materials for inclusion in the CDL, materials which will be shared by the entire U.C. System. A new web site, which will coordinate the digital collections of the U.C. System and individual campuses, is expected to be unveiled in mid-January at the start of the spring semester.

The newest development in the library has not been in collections but in personnel. **Gerald Lowell** assumed the post of university librarian on December 1, 1998. He was previously the university librarian at UC San Diego and

prior to that an associate university librarian at Yale University. Chancellor Berdahl was extremely enthusiastic in his announcement of the appointment, and it should bode well for the library that the new UL is arriving with this display of support.

Belated Holiday Wishes,

Allan Urbanic
Librarian for Slavic Collections
(510) 643-6649
aurbanic@library.berkeley.edu

Some useful WWW addresses for sites mentioned here:

The Slavic and East European
Collections Home Page
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/>

The PACSLAV Home Page
[http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/
PACSLAV](http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/PACSLAV)

The ISI Emerging Markets Page
(U.C. Berkeley IP accounts only)
<http://www.securities.com/>

RAS On-Line Page
(U.C. Berkeley IP accounts only)
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/UCBonly/ras.html>

Campus Visitors

Leila Aliyeva, former national coordinator for the U.N. National Human Development Report in Baku, Azerbaijan, joins us as the Visiting Caucasus Scholar at BPS, funded by the Ford Foundation. She is a prominent specialist in Azeri foreign policy.

Sergei Arutiunov, chairman of Department of Caucasian Studies at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, is a visiting professor at the anthropology department this semester. He is teaching two courses, "Peoples and Cultures of the Caucasus" and "Archaeology of Northeast Siberia."

Daniel Daianu, Minister of Finance, Romania, is visiting Berkeley this semester to teach a course through Political Economy of Industrialized Societies. Entitled "Economy

and Society During Post-Communist Transformation," the course will focus on the post-1989 developments in former Communist countries.

Yong-Chool Ha, Seoul National University, South Korea, is teaching in the political science department this academic year. He received his Ph.D. from Berkeley in 1985 and is one of Korea's leading specialists on present-day Russia.

Valery Emel'yanovich Oryol, Docent and Dean of the Psychological Department at Yaroslavl State University, is visiting the psychology department this semester as a Fulbright Scholar. He is studying burnout as a professional phenomenon.

Upcoming Events

For information on current CSEES and BPS events, please call (510) 642-3230.

Monday, February 8. *Panel Discussion:* "Imperial Borderlands: Russia in the Caucasus and Central Asia, 1700-1917." Participants: Edward Lazzerini, Professor of History and Director of the Center for Asian Studies, University of New Orleans; Daniel Brower, Professor of History, University of California, Davis; and Yuri Slezkine, Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley. In 223 Moses Hall, 4:00 p.m. Sponsored by BPS.

Tuesday, February 9. *Brown Bag Talk:* Carlotta Gall, Reporter for the *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and the *New York Times*, will speak on "Chechnya: Calamity for the Caucasus." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by BPS.

Tuesday, February 9. *Lecture.* Stephan Astourian, the William Saroyan Visiting Professor of Armenian Studies, U.C. Berkeley, will speak on "President Ter-Petrosian's Years and the Causes for His Downfall." Sponsored by the U.C. Berkeley Armenian Alumni Association. See 2/2 lecture for details.

Wednesday, February 10. *Brown Bag Talk:* Gyorgi Vlasenko, independent Russian film director and poet, will speak on "In Search of a Positive Program: Art and Ideology in Russia." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

Tuesday, February 16. *Brown Bag Talk:* Vahakn N. Dadrian, Director of the Genocide Study Project and Member of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia, will speak on "The Legal Aspects in the Prosecution of Two Major Twentieth-Century Genocides: The Armenian and Jewish Cases." Location to be announced, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and the Armenian Studies Working Group of the Townsend Center.

Tuesday, February 16. *Lecture.* Stephan Astourian, the William Saroyan Visiting Professor of Armenian Studies, U.C. Berkeley, will speak on "The Mountainous Karabagh Crisis." Sponsored by the U.C. Berkeley Armenian Alumni Association. See 2/2 lecture for details.

Wednesday, February 17. *Brown Bag Talk:* Daniel Daianu, Former Minister of Finance of Romania and Visiting Professor, IAS Teaching Programs, U.C. Berkeley, will speak on "New Divides in the Post-Communist World." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

Friday, February 19. *Brown Bag Talk:* Benjamin Nathans, Assistant Professor of History, University of

Pennsylvania, will speak on "Higher Education and Empire in Fin-de-Siècle Russia: Jews, Russians, and the Imperial University." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and the Department of History.

Friday, February 19. *Concert.* Chorovaya Akademia. This 15-man ensemble performs Russian ecclesiastical music of the 19th and early 20th centuries. At St. Ignacius Church, San Francisco. Fees: \$22/\$26/\$30. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances, (415) 392-2545.

Monday, February 22. *Film Screening and Discussion:* Maria Zmarz-Koczanowicz, Polish Documentary Film Director and Visiting Professor, State University of New York, Buffalo, will present two films *Turn Me Into a Long Snake* (1998; 25 min.) and *Bara, bara* (1998, 55 min.). Location to be announced, 7:00 p.m. Sponsored by CSEES.

Tuesday, February 23. *Lecture.* Stephan Astourian, the William Saroyan Visiting Professor of Armenian Studies, U.C. Berkeley, will speak on "Armenia Under President Kocharian." Sponsored by the U.C. Berkeley Armenian Alumni Association. See 2/2 lecture for details.

Tuesday, February 23. *Public Lecture:* Eileen Murphy, Queen's University, Belfast, Ireland, will speak on "Refleshing the Scythians and Hunno-Sarmatians: Health, Diet, and Lifestyle as seen from Aymyrylg, Tuva, South Siberian Burials." In 160 Kroeber Hall, 7:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Indo-European Language and Culture Working Group, CSEES, the Townsend Center for the Humanities, and the Archaeological Institute of America.

Wednesday, February 24. *Brown Bag Talk:* Lucan Way, Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, U.C. Berkeley, will speak on "Ukraine and the Fiscal Crisis." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and BPS.

Sunday, February 28. *Public Lecture:* Eileen Murphy, Queen's University, Belfast, Ireland, will speak on "Decapitations, Scalpings, and Throat Cuttings amongst Ancient Eurasian Nomads: Evidence from a Cemetery in Tuva, South Siberia." In the Geballe Room, 220 Stephens Hall, 3:00 p.m. See 2/23 lecture for sponsors.

Wednesday, March 3. *Brown Bag Talk:* Sergey Ambartsumian, Former President of Yerevan State University and Member of the Presidium of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, will speak on "Science, Education, and Politics in Armenia." In 442 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES, BPS, and the Armenian Studies Working Group of the Townsend Center.

Thursday, March 4. *Public Lecture:* Louis Nebelsick, Free University of Berlin, will speak on "Orant and Oracle: The Female Image in Hallstatt Europe's Figurative and Sepulchral Iconography." In 160 Kroeber Hall, 7:30 pm. Sponsored by the Indo-European Language and Culture Working Group, CSEES, and others.

Tuesday, March 9. *Recital.* Yefim Bronfman, Russian pianist. At Herbst Theater, San Francisco, 8:00 p.m. Fees: \$22/\$32. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances, (415) 392-2545.

Thursday, March 11. *Brown Bag Talk:* Marina Kurkchian, Fulbright Scholar from Armenia, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, will speak on "Public Health and Social Policy in Armenia." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and BPS.

Friday, March 12. *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference:* "New Elites in Post-Communist Societies." At the Toll Room of the Alumni House, beginning at 9:30 a.m. Sponsored by CSEES and the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford University.

Saturday, March 13. *Festival:* "Gypsy Caravan: A Celebration of Roma Music and Dance." More than forty performers will participate in this festival. At Zellerbach Hall, U.C. Berkeley, 8:00 p.m. Fees: \$14/\$20/\$26. Sponsored by Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988.

Monday, March 15. *Brown Bag Talk:* Ghia Nodia, Chairman of the Board, Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development, Tbilisi, will speak on the Republic of Georgia. In 270 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and BPS.

Saturday, March 20. *Concert.* Slavyanka, Men's Russian Chorus. Tickets may be purchased at the door or by telephoning Slavyanka. At the Maritime Academy Auditorium, California Maritime Academy Drive, Vallejo; 7:30 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 seniors/students. Contact: (415) 979-8960; <http://www.slavyanka.org>.

Tuesday, April 6. *Recital.* Dubravka Tomsic, Slovenian pianist, will be performing Beethoven and Brahms. At Herbst Theater, San Francisco, 8:00 p.m. Fees: \$22/\$32. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances, (415) 392-2545.

Saturday–Sunday, April 10–11. *Annual Teachers Outreach Conference:* "Coping With Crisis: International Responses to Instability and Disorder in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union." At the Alumni House. Sponsored by CSEES. Registration will be required.

Friday, April 30. *Annual Caucasus Conference:* "State Building and the Reconstruction of Shattered Societies." In the Lipman Room, 8th floor of Barrows Hall. Sponsored by CSEES and BPS.

Saturday, May 22. *Concert:* Twentieth Anniversary Celebration Alumni and Gala Tour Send-off Concert by Slavyanka, Men's Russian Chorus. Tickets may be purchased at the door or by telephoning Slavyanka. At St. John's Presbyterian Church, 2727 College Avenue, Berkeley; 7:00 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 seniors/students. Contact: (415) 979-8960; <http://www.slavyanka.org>.

BPS Working Paper Series

Fall 1998: *Soviet and Post-Soviet Area Studies*

Victoria Bonnell, Professor of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley, and George Breslauer, Professor of Political Science, U.C. Berkeley.

Forthcoming issues:

Prisoners of the Caucasus: Cultural Myths and Media Representations of the Chechen Conflict
Harsha Ram, Assistant Professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, U.C. Berkeley

From Ter-Petrosian to Kocharian: Leadership Change in Armenia
Stephan Astourian, the William Saroyan Visiting Professor of Armenian Studies, U.C. Berkeley

The Myth of Meaning

Marie Alice L'Heureux

**Francis Violich, *The Bridge to Dalmatia: A Search for the Meaning of Place*.
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,
1998.**

In a time when the Balkans have become synonymous with brutality and ethnic violence, Francis Violich's *The Bridge to Dalmatia: A Search for the Meaning of Place* opens up a more human path to this place by giving us another name for it. Dalmatia conjures images of rocky coastlines, exotic medieval towns, and a diverse people. As Professor Emeritus of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley, Violich has specialized in comprehensive approaches to land-use planning and urban design at the local level. His exploration of the land of his ancestors has been ongoing since his first visit in 1937, but geography, politics, and war impeded his sharing this search in book form until now.

Violich explicitly aims this book at four groups—the general reader, the traveler, professionals in environmental design and urban planning, and those interested in Slavic culture, immigration, and demographics. In striving to satisfy this demanding goal, he presents a broad range of materials in alternately personal and didactic styles. In the rich introduction, Violich situates the context of his search for the meaning of place within the private realm. Through family journals, photograph albums, letters, and supporting historical documents, Violich recounts, in wonderful detail, his maternal grandparents' and father's separate journeys from Croatia to the United States; his parents' eventual meeting; their shared real and imagined homeland; and the nurturing of these visions in their son, the author. He describes the affinity of the Dalmatian and Californian landscapes, emphasizing their west-facing shores, backdrop of mountains and fertile coastlands. Although the gold fields did not literally embody the history of their ancestors, in Violich's view, the form of the Californian landscape and its context were familiar and comfortable to the new settlers.

The first chapter, "Identity: Key to the Meaning of Place," lays out Violich's guided phenomenological approach to place and the underlying purpose of the book: to improve environmental design and planning and ameliorate our cities by deepening everyone's understanding of the places where we live. He introduces a ten-step heuristic method of discovery that begins with unguided

first impressions and moves on to creating perceptual maps, inventing names and metaphors, verifying data based on historical information, and engaging in informal interactions with residents and visitors. In other words, we gain a sense of place by experiencing, studying, and verifying. To illustrate his method, the author uses his exploration and reading of an Italian hill town and, in much less detail, Berkeley, California.

In chapter two, Violich weaves the complex geographical and historical accounts of the Balkan region and its many occupants over several millennia into a coherent tapestry. In chapters three through six, he selects a diverse set of Croatian sites, from the mainland towns of Dubrovnik, Split, and Zadar, to coastal hamlets and mountain villages, and applies his method of exploration to derive their meaning. The rich, real-time descriptions of promenades through the towns and villages, complemented by Robert Ancel's carefully drawn illustrations and maps, give a strong impression of Violich's personal experience of these places. Violich's use of the inclusive "we" is distracting, however: it reinforces the travelogue quality of the text and presumes that others would see the same things in the same way the author does.

Violich completed his exploration of the region before the outbreak of the recent war in 1991. In the final chapter, "The Environment: Common Ground for Community Identity," he tentatively tries to sort out the enmity that emerged in his ancestral lands and the destruction that it caused in most of the towns he had explored. Figuratively retracing his paths, he describes in a mournful litany what has been lost and the effect of this loss on the population, which was both fragmented and brought together by the destruction. He writes that the most precious cultural monuments were purposefully targeted to attack the heart of cultural identity. In conclusion, he suggests to young environmental professionals of the region the use of his method to rebuild not only the physical landscape, but also the fabric of meaning that was unraveled by the war.

The Bridge to Dalmatia succeeds on a number of levels—as travelogue, biography, and as an illustration of the phenomenological approach to space. It is less successful, however as a treatise on the meaning of place. I agree with many of Violich's contentions about identity and space—that, for example, people care more about their immediate neighborhood than to those at a distance and that they will

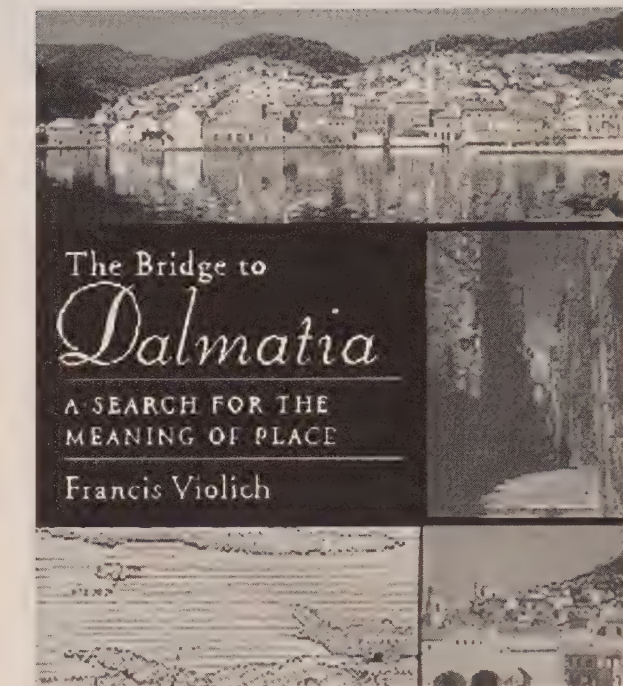
often cooperate if their community is threatened. However, I find the phenomenological approach—even a “guided” one—inadequate in deriving the meaning of an environment. In focusing on the built environment as the soul of cultural identity, the author does not recognize that not only monuments and neighborhoods, but also rituals and the practices of daily life are cultural constructions. He also forgets that these constructions are freighted with disparities of wealth and power. Violich argues, for example, that in “our competitive and heterogeneous society, we tend to seek environments that are compatible with our desired self-image,” dismissing the myriad other reasons behind, for instance, the selection of a dwelling. By his rationale, people choose to live in small dark apartments on squalid streets because these reflect their self-image. Violich does advocate participation in the design process as a way of invigorating our built environments, but he preserves the privileged place for the (white, male) planner/designer, not acknowledging that women, low-income people, children, the disabled, and the elderly would have different readings of these places. In chapter one, Violich claims that his reading of Berkeley (where I have spent most of the last five years) challenges the “popular image of social separateness of flatlands residents and hill dwellers . . . in light of the fact of a gently sloping terrain all the way to the Bay,” but gives no convincing evidence of this.

Our modern spaces have unfortunately been designed by an elite group who rarely consider differences in meaning. Obviously, the position of the participants will affect their understanding and view of a place. An old woman standing for hours displaying her lace work for sale in Split has a very different experience of the town than the author or I would have. Contested meanings were evident in the deterioration of social relations during the recent Balkan war. Buildings and monuments may be rebuilt, but the breakdown of social relations cannot be restored as easily—especially when they remain largely unexamined.

Bulgaria, continued from page 7

Hillary Clinton for civil society development and the large IMF loan that Bulgaria received a few months later. In either case, however, this story demonstrates the large role that Stoyanov plays in Bulgarian diplomacy. Finally, Kostov relies on Interior Minister Bonev to enforce the crackdown on organized crime, which has been so important for Bulgaria’s success during the past year’s transition. Bonev, in turn, relies on Deputy Prime Minister Bozhkov to help prevent organized crime at its economic source by accelerating privatization, simplifying administrative procedures, and breaking up unfair monopolies.

In the final analysis, Kostov is a skillful politician, and it is to his credit that he has managed to select a cabinet



Meaning does not *exist* in the singular or even the plural. No matter how well-intentioned or thoroughly researched a study of the meaning of place is, it is still “a” meaning of “a” place, not “the” meaning of place. People constantly produce, contest, negotiate and reconstruct the *meanings* of place.

Marie Alice L'Heureux is a professional architect and a Ph.D. Candidate in architecture at the University of California, Berkeley.

full of other skillful, wise, and tough politicians. Although he cannot be held single-handedly responsible for Bulgaria’s impressive turnaround, he is a well-respected professional politician of the new “political class” which is extremely important in the consolidation of Bulgarian democracy. People trust Kostov to tell the truth—and so far they have not been disappointed. They trust his advice, and he is therefore able to force cooperation among competing factions in his cabinet and in the National Assembly. People respect Kostov for his strength, his wisdom, and his political style. Indeed, Kostov has probably been a necessary, if not a sufficient, factor in the Bulgarian miracle of the past year and a half.

Berkeley Participants In the AAASS 1998 Convention

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) held its thirtieth national convention in Boca Raton, Florida on September 24–27, 1998. Berkeley was well represented at the conference with the following participants:

Z. Ron Bialkowski, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper entitled “The Politicization of Russian Criminology, 1905–1917” at the panel on “Law and Politics in the Late Imperial Russia.”

Peter A. Blitstein, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper entitled “How the Post-War Stalinist State fought ‘Ethnic Particularism’” at the panel on “Post-War Stalinism: Themes, Archives, and Case Studies.”

Adrienne Lynn Edgar, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper entitled “Nationality Policy and National Identity in Turkmenistan, 1924–1934” at the panel on “Creating Time Bombs: Soviet/Stalinist Legacies in Central Asia.”

Tomasz J. Grabowski, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented a paper entitled “Three Cultures of Post-Communism: Traditionalism, Opportunism, Individualism” at the panel on “Leninist Legacies in Post-Communist Politics in Central Europe.”

Brian Kassof, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper entitled “Books to the Masses: Publishers, Readers, Texts and Chaos, 1927–1933” at the panel on “Reimaging the World: Categories in Soviet Thought and Practice.”

Marie Alice L’Heureux, Ph.D. candidate in architecture, presented a paper entitled “New Homes for a New Country: Re-Shaping the Domestic Landscape of Estonia’s First Republic” at the panel on “Public and Private Spaces in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cities.”

Eric Naiman, associate professor of comparative literature and Slavic languages and literatures, had his paper, “Utopian and Allegorical Geometry in *The Defense*,” presented in absentia by Julian Connolly at the panel on Vladimir Nabokov.

Anne Nesbet, assistant professor of Slavic languages and literatures, had her paper, “*Ivan the Terrible* and ‘The Juncture of the Beginning and the End,’” presented in absentia by Christina Kiaer at the panel on Eisenstein’s *Ivan the Terrible*.

William S. Nickell (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1998) served as a discussant on the panel “Negotiating Transition: From the Silver Age to the Iron Age.”

Ethan M. Pollock, Ph.D. candidate in history, served as a participant in the roundtable on “Igor Kurchatov and the Making of Stalin’s Nuclear Weapons: A Documentary Film in the Making.” He also presented a paper entitled “K. Simonov and the Anti-Cosmopolitan Campaign in Sciences” at the panel on “The Russian Intelligentsia and the Soviet State.”

Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, professor emeritus of history, served as a discussant on the panel “Russia and the West: Considering Sources of Difference.” He also chaired the panel “The Founders of Eurasianism.”

Allan Joseph Urbanic, Slavic Collections Librarian, chaired the panel discussion entitled “New Models of Library Technical Processing and Their Impact on Slavic and East European Collections.” He also presented a paper entitled “CD–Roms From Eastern Europe” at the panel on “Sound and Lights in Research Libraries: The Academic

Research

The joint project of the Center for German and European Studies and CSEES, "Europe East and West: Challenges to Sovereignty from Above and Below," has resulted in numerous publications by its participants, with still others to come. Listed below are the papers that have been published to date:

George W. Breslauer, professor of political science, U.C. Berkeley, and **Catherine Dale**, Department of Political Science, U.C. Berkeley. "Boris Yel'tsin and the Invention of a Russian Nation-State," *Post-Soviet Affairs* [13, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1997): 303-333].

Andrew C. Janos, professor of political science, U.C. Berkeley. *Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: Ethnic Conflict and the Dissolution of Multinational States* (Berkeley: International and Area Studies, U.C. Berkeley, 1997).

The following were published as working papers by the Center for German and European Studies:

Christopher Ansell, assistant professor of political science, U.C. Berkeley, and **Steven Weber**, associate professor of political science, U.C. Berkeley. *Organizing International Politics: Sovereignty and Open Systems*, (1998).

John Connelly, professor of history, U.C. Berkeley. *The Limits of Totalitarian Rule in Communist Czechoslovakia: the Case of Higher Education*, (1998).

Beverly Crawford, associate director, Center for German and European Studies, U.C. Berkeley. *The Local Hegemon's Protection: Explaining Germany's Decision to Participate in the European Monetary Union*, (1998).

M. Steven Fish, assistant professor of political science, U.C. Berkeley. *Moving Backwards: The Dynamics of Democratic Erosion and Reversal in the Post-Communist World*, (1998).

Gregory Grossman, professor of economics, U.C. Berkeley. *Subverted Sovereignty: The Historic Role of the Soviet Underground*, (1998).

Jeffrey S. Kopstein, associate professor of political science, University of Colorado, Boulder. *From East Germany to Germany: Between Moral Economy and Political Economy*, (1998).

Lars Tragardh, assistant professor of European history, Barnard College. *European Integration and the Question of National Sovereignty: Germany and Sweden, 1945-1995*, (1998).

CSEES Newsletter / 18

Announcements

Highgate Road Social Science Research Station

New Publication

A Memoir from the Molokan Villages in the Transcaucasus

S. E. Il'in's book *Moya zakavkazskaya Rossiya*, which we helped to publish, has been issued by the Moscow Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in an edition of 200 copies. The book contains an introduction by Svetlana Inikova, who in recent years has been collecting materials among Molokans and Dukhobors in the Transcaucasus, where at one time these two sects were a significant proportion of the Russian population. *Moya zakavkazskaya Rossiya* is a memoir of Molokan villages from 1920 to approximately the 1980s by a Molokan living in Azerbaijan. There is also one short chapter on Dukhobors. There are notes and fourteen evocative illustrations.

Any library scholar, or reader interested in religion as a way of life will want to read this work. Please send checks for \$15 (postage is included) to Highgate Road Social Science Research Station, 32 Highgate Road, Berkeley, CA 94707.

Assistant Available for the Russian Archives

Svetlana Inikova, an ethnographer and archivist who has been collecting materials among Molokans and Dukhobors in the Transcaucasus, is seeking employment as an archival assistant. She writes quite passable English and probably speaks some. Inquiries should be sent to the Highgate Road Social Science Research Station and will be forwarded to Inikova.

The College of Environmental Design is pleased to announce the establishment of a fund to assist students from the Dalmatian Coast of Croatia in doing graduate work in the environmental fields of urban planning, design, and landscape architecture at U.C. Berkeley. The **Francis Violich Dalmatian Fellowship Fund** grew out of an exchange program created in 1996 with the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Zagreb.

For further information, contact Robert Burt at (510) 643-1105 or John Banks at (510) 642-3258.

Open Letter from Campus Supporters of NITs MEMORIAL

Dear Colleagues,

We—a group of scholars, teachers, and students of Russian history and culture—are writing to ask you to join us in donating to our colleagues in St. Petersburg, historians of NITs (*Nauchno-Informatsionnyi Tsent*) MEMORIAL. We believe that our friends at MEMORIAL are doing work of great scholarly and social merit.

NITs MEMORIAL is a cramped apartment with an archive, a library, and computers. NITs finds and exhumes victims of terror, collects sources (archival and oral), organizes exhibitions and conferences, and publishes books. NITs was founded by Veniamin Iofe, a former dissident (1965–68 in Mordovia labor camps), who also co-founded MEMORIAL, St. Petersburg in 1988. Irina Reznikova is probably the world's foremost expert on the Solovetskii Island Camp. Mikhail Shkarovskii studies religion during the Soviet period (see his 1995 *Slavic Review* article). And Viacheslav Dolinin, organizer of a Solidarity-inspired underground trade union (which earned him a 1981–87 camp term), has amassed an impressive collection of *samizdat* and objects of camp *byt* (from *zek* spoons to a Solovetskii Kremlin prison door) for a future MEMORIAL museum. These four people really run NITs, but NITs supports many other individuals and their projects on the history of repressions.

We know the people at NITs from their fall 1997 visit to Berkeley and Stanford. And one of us, Jan Plamper, did social work with victims of Nazism and Stalinism, all MEMORIAL members, during 1992–94 in lieu of his German military service.

This fall, with the Russian economy in shambles, it often seems as if there are only two tangible achievements since 1991: a free press and a fledgling civil society. MEMORIAL is synonymous with that civil society. Unfortunately, NITs MEMORIAL's sources of support have dried up. Western foundations (Ford, MacArthur, Soros), who funded them in the early 1990s, say that by now organizations like NITs should be on their "own two feet," but there is no financial ground in Russia on which to stand. Coming to terms with the Soviet past is a low priority for the current government.

That is why we are asking you to make a donation to NITs MEMORIAL. An existing Berlin-based non-profit organization with tax-exempt status called

"Förderverein für MEMORIAL/St. Petersburg e.V." ("Society for the support of MEMORIAL/St. Petersburg") has generously allowed us to use their financial structure. This organization is run by volunteers, and there are absolutely no overhead costs. Förderverein für MEMORIAL/St. Petersburg annually reports to the Berlin tax authorities, and all donors will receive an authorized tax exempt receipt. MEMORIAL, it should be added, is registered in Russia as a non-profit organization. You will also receive an annual report by NITs on its research and activities over the past year.

Personal checks in U.S. dollars should be made out to "Förderverein für MEMORIAL/St. Petersburg," for "NITs," and should be sent to:

Förderverein für MEMORIAL/St. Petersburg
Postfach 610 382
10926 Berlin, Germany

For those who wish to wire money directly to NITs MEMORIAL's account at Förderverein für MEMORIAL/St. Petersburg (please be aware that banks charge a fee for wiring):

Bank für Sozialwirtschaft Berlin
Account #/Kontonummer: 3320002
Routing #/BLZ: 10020500
For/Stichwort: "NITs MEMORIAL"

We will repeat this appeal a year from now and try to ensure that NITs MEMORIAL has stable support from private people in the U.S.A., Germany, and other Western countries, as long as Russian funding remains unavailable.

Reginald Zelnik
Professor
Department of History
University of California, Berkeley

Irina Paperno
Professor
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures
University of California, Berkeley

Jan Plamper
Graduate Student
Department of History
University of California, Berkeley

Faculty and Student News

Laura Adams, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, hopes to finish her dissertation, "Celebrating Independence: Arts, Organizations and Identity in Uzbekistan," by the end of this year. She has two forthcoming (as of 8/98) publications on national culture in Uzbekistan, one in *Anthropology of East Europe Review* and one in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*.

Funds from the Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies will help in the publication of a two-volume intensive Bulgarian textbook written by **Ronelle Alexander**, professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures. The text is to be published by the University of Wisconsin Press.

Elżbieta Benson, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, was awarded a Dissertation Fellowship by the Social Science Research Council through their Eastern Europe Program. Her dissertation is entitled "From Information Monopoly to Market for Information: Institutional and Organizational Transition in Poland, 1970–1997."

Ronald Bialkowski, Ph.D. candidate in history, received an Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct nine months of field research in Russia. His project is entitled "Crime and the Liberal Imagination: Criminology in Late Imperial Russia, 1855–1917."

IREX also awarded **Chad Bryant**, Ph.D. candidate in history, an Individual Advanced Research Grant to conduct nine months of field research in the Czech Republic. His project is entitled "Creating the Racial State: German Policy and Practice in the Occupied Czech Lands, 1939–1945."

Michael Burawoy, professor of sociology, co-edited a book with Katherine Verdery entitled *Uncertain Transitions: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998).

Michael Carpenter, Ph.D. candidate in political science and BPS affiliate, is in Poland this academic year on a Fulbright Fellowship. While affiliated with the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences, he is working on his dissertation on the transformation of the post-Communist nation-state in Poland.

The American Sociological Association recognized **Manuel Castells**, professor of sociology and city and regional planning, with the Robert and Helen Lynd Award for distinguished career contributions to community and urban sociology. Professor Castells is the author of the volumes—

The Rise of the Network Society (1996), *The Power of Identity* (1997), and *End of Millennium* (1998)—published by Blackwell Publishers under the title *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture*.

Catherine Dale, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received an Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct twelve months of research in Azerbaijan and Georgia. Her project is entitled "Constructing Borders and Membership: Power and Order in the Context of Conflict and Displacement in Georgia and Azerbaijan."

The Social Science Research Council awarded **Keith Darden**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, a 1998 Dissertation Write-Up Fellowship through their Eurasia Program. His dissertation is entitled "From Economic Myth to Institutional Reality: The Creation of New Forms of Regional Order in the Former Soviet Union."

Vladimir Degoev, visiting Fulbright scholar at the history department and professor and chair of the Department of Russian history and Caucasian Studies at North Ossetian State University, will be giving two lectures at a series of teacher workshops on "Faith and the State: Religion and Politics in Russia and the Soviet Union." The workshop series—sponsored by the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford University, the Bay Area Global Education Program, and the World Affairs Council—began in October and will continue into the spring semester. Dr. Degoev will be speaking on "Judaism in Russia" and "Folk Beliefs, Shamanism, and Sects in Russia."

Adrienne Edgar, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a Dissertation Write-Up Fellowship through the Social Science Research Council's Eurasia Program. Her dissertation is entitled "The Making of a Soviet Nation: Turkmenistan, 1924–1939."

M. Steven Fish, assistant professor of political science, recently published two articles, "The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Post-Communist World" in *East European Politics and Societies* [12, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 31–78], and "Democratization's Requisites: The Post-Communist Experience" in *Post-Soviet Affairs* [14, no. 3 (July–September 1998): 212–247].

The Social Science Research Council awarded **Danielle M. Fosler-Lussier**, Ph.D. candidate in musicology, a Dissertation Fellowship through their Eastern Europe Program. Her dissertation is entitled "The Transition to Communism and the Legacy of Béla Bartók in Hungary."

Another Recent Graduate

The List of Ph.D.s awarded during the 1997–98 academic year which appeared in the last issue of the newsletter was incomplete. We are pleased to announce that

Aaron Belkin filed his dissertation, “Performing the National Security State: Civil–Military Relations as a Cause of International Conflict,” with the political science department in May 1998.

Congratulations to all of our recent graduates!

Gregory Grossman, professor emeritus of economics, was recently elected Honorary Member of the European Association for Comparative Economic Studies. In May 1998, Professor Grossman gave a series of eight lectures at the University of Verona, Italy, on “Natural Riches and the Legacy of Autarky in Post-Soviet Russia.”

Andrew Janos, professor of political science, published *The Political Economy of Ethnic Conflict: The Dissolution of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia* (Washington, DC: The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, 1997).

James Clay Moltz (Ph.D. in political science, 1990) was promoted in May 1998 to director of the NIS Nonproliferation Project at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, where he is also a research professor and assistant director of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies.

Eric Naiman, associate professor of comparative literature and Slavic languages and literatures, published *Sex in Public: The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

William Nickell (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1998) received an IREX Short Term Grant to present a paper at a conference in Russia on Tolstoy and to conduct research for a monograph on Tolstoy’s death.

The Social Science Research Council awarded **Adriana Petryna**, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, a 1998 Dissertation Write-Up Fellowship through their Eurasia Program. Her dissertation is entitled “The Technical and Political Administration of Life After Chernobyl: Science, Sovereignty, and Citizenship in a Post-Cold War Era.”

David Schneer, Ph.D. candidate in history, received an Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct eight months of research in Russia. His project is entitled “Who is a Jew? Communist Jews’ Conceptions of Jewish Identity, 1917–1930.”

Valerie Sperling (Ph.D. in political science, 1997) is currently a visiting assistant professor of government at Clark University. She spent the 1997–98 academic year as a post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University’s Davis Center for Russian Research, where she revised her dissertation on the women’s movement in contemporary Russia for publication. The resulting book is now under contract with Cambridge University Press.

Barbara Voytek, executive director of the Center, published “Transitioning the Mesolithic,” in *Harvesting the Sea, Farming the Forest: The Emergence of Neolithic Societies in the Baltic Region and Adjacent Areas*, edited by Marek Zvelebil, Lucyna Domanska, and Robin Dennell. (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1998).

Glennys Young (Ph.D. in history, 1989) was recently promoted to Associate Professor of History and International Studies at the University of Washington. Her book, *Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia: Religious Activists in the Village*, was published in December 1997 by the Pennsylvania State University Press.

Reginald Zelnik, professor in the Department of History, was interviewed last May by Masha Lipman for *Itogi* [20, no. 105 (May 26, 1998): 44]. The article, “The Public Republic of Berkeley,” discusses the Berkeley civil rights activities of 1968.

Daniel Ziblatt, Ph.D. candidate in political science, recently published an article “Putting Humpty-Dumpty Back Together Again: Communism’s Collapse and the Reconstruction of the East German Ex-Communist Party” in *German Politics and Society* [16, no. 1 (1998)]. He also published the article “The Adaptation of Ex-Communist Parties to Post-Communist East Central Europe: A Comparative Study of the East German and Hungarian Ex-Communist Parties” in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* [31, no. 2 (June 1998): 119–137].

Colin Miller Memorial Lecture November 9, 1998

Culture, Journalism, and Entrepreneurship in Russia Today

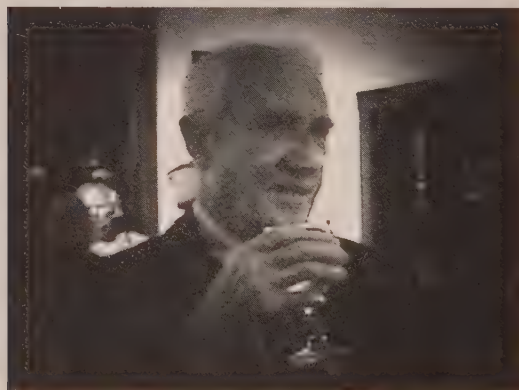


Professor Victoria Bonnell delighting in the company of the Colin Miller Memorial Lecturers, Irina Prokhorova (*left*) and Masha Lipman (*right*), at the post-lecture reception.

Irina Prokhorova is the founder and editor of *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie* and its supplement, *Neprikosnovennyi zapas*. Masha Lipman is Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Itogi*.



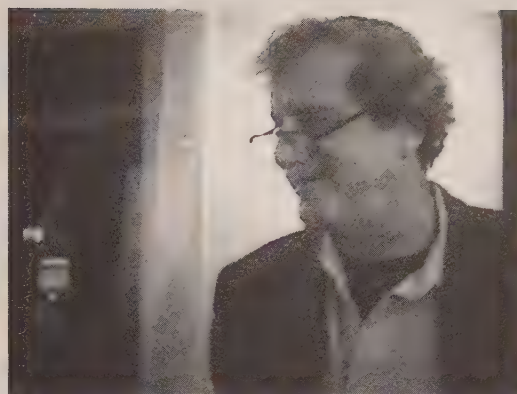
Leonid Kil, Ph.D. candidate in political science.



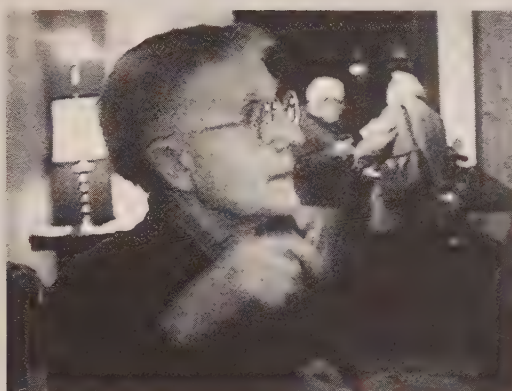
Serge Petroff joined us once again, accompanied by his wife, Jane. The Petroffs are Associates of the Slavic Center who attend many events.



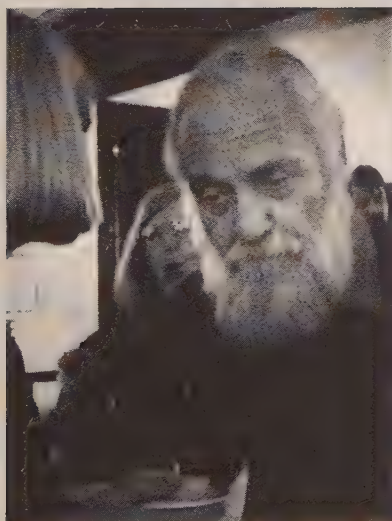
Robin Brooks, Ph.D. candidate in political science and affiliated graduate student of BPS.



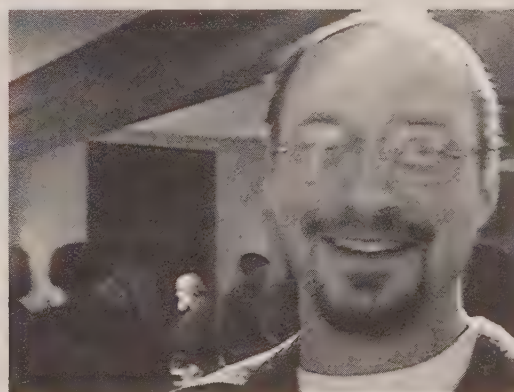
Reginald Zelnik, professor of history, enjoying the reception after the stimulating and informative lecture.



Skaidrite Rubene, an Associate of the Slavic Center, is a loyal supporter of our programs.



David Hooson, professor of geography, conversing with Barbara Voytek at the reception.



Dan Kronenfeld, Ph.D. candidate in political science and affiliated graduate student of BPS.

Associates of the Slavic Center

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies), between August 15 and December 31, 1998. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extra-curricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

SPONSORS

Harald Drews*
Alexander G. Edeleanu*
Peter and Margaret Edgelow*
Jane Carroll McCoy*
Serge and Jane Petroff*
Ronald and Dorothy Tyler*
Alexander and Dorothy Vucinich*

MEMBERS

Anonymous*
Skaidrite Rubene
Katalin Voros*

* gift of continuing membership



For those of you who are not yet members, we encourage you to join. We believe you will enjoy the stimulating programs; even if you cannot participate as often as you might wish, your continuing contribution critically supports the Center's mission and goals.

Members (\$10 to \$100). Members of ASC receive monthly "Updates" and special mailings to notify them of events and special activities, such as cultural performances and major conferences. In this way, notification of even last-minute items is direct.

Sponsors (\$100-up). ASC Sponsors also receive a uniquely designed, handmade tote bag which promotes Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. They also receive invitations to special informal afternoon and evening talks on campus featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

Benefactors (\$500-up). ASC Benefactors receive invitations to the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences, such as the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in the spring.

Center Circle (\$1,000-up). In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. As such, they are invited to luncheons before the major football games. They also have use of the Faculty Club and twenty other worldwide faculty clubs.

It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to:

The Center for Slavic and East European Studies
University of California, Berkeley
361 Stephens Hall # 2304
Berkeley CA 94720-2304
Attn: ASC

Name(s) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Home _____ Business _____

Phone _____ Phone _____

If your employer has a matching gift program, please print name of corporation below:

____ I have made a contribution but wish to remain anonymous.

Fellowships and Other Opportunities

The Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize

The Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize is to be awarded for an outstanding thesis (senior or honors thesis) in the social sciences or humanities which researches some aspect of Serbian history or culture. It was established through a donation to the university by Colonel Don Kosovac, one of the Associates of the Slavic Center, in honor of his parents.

Although the Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize was founded to provide assistance to undergraduates, at the same time it is meant to stimulate research in Serbian history and culture. Graduate research in these areas would thus be considered.

Any questions can be directed to Barbara Voytek, Executive Director of the Slavic Center, at 510-643-6736 or bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu.

Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship In Hungarian Studies

By a generous gift to the University, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Hertelendy have established an endowment for support of The Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies. Graduates of any nationality and citizenship are eligible to apply, provided only that they are residents in the U.S. at the time of application and plan to embark on a career in the U.S. This fellowship supports enrolled graduate students working in the general field of Hungarian Studies and/or U.S.-Hungarian or European- (including the EU-) Hungarian Relations. The fields are broadly defined to include all areas of history, language, culture, arts, society, politics, and institutions of Hungary. In time, the endowment will support up to two years of enrollment, which is the intent of the donors. Since the program is new, partial assistance is being offered. Students are encouraged to apply for research assistance if their dissertation research falls into the field. Deadline: March 1, 1999. Questions regarding any aspect of the Hertelendy Fellowship in Hungarian Studies should be directed to Barbara Voytek, <bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu> or 510-643-6736.

The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies

The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies was initiated in 1997 to support, in perpetuity, creative thought and writing in the social sciences, humanities, and arts, and activities such as research, instruction, colloquia, symposia, lecture series, and publications. The fund will be used to augment teaching and research in disciplines including, but not limited to, the following areas: culture, literature, history, political science, music, the fine arts, and language instruction. Eligible languages include, but are not limited to, the South Slav languages (Bulgarian, Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, Slovenian), Greek, and Romanian.

Kujachich Endowment funds may also be used to support undergraduate and graduate research, to acquire important teaching and research materials, or to support visiting professorships on the UC Berkeley campus.

The donor expresses the wish that, whenever possible, preference and emphasis will be given to Serbian and Montenegrin Studies.

For further information, please contact Barbara Voytek, Executive Director of the Slavic Center, at 510-643-6736 or bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu.

Slavic Center Travel Grants provide limited travel support for faculty and Center-affiliated graduate students. Awards up to \$300 are made to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive Slavic Center funding in the past AY. Deadline: on-going. To apply send request with budget to Barbara Voytek, CSEES, U.C. Berkeley, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

ACTR/ACCELS

Research Scholar Programs award U.S. graduate students and young faculty interested in studying and conducting research at key academic centers in the former Soviet Union. Deadline: March 1, 1999 for summer 1999; April 1 for AY 1999-2000. Contact: ACTR/ACCELS, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; research@actr.org; <http://www.actr.org/programs/research.htm>.

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

The Neporany Research and Teaching Fellowship provides \$20,000 for postdoctoral research and teaching in Ukrainian studies. The award is granted for one semester at any university with the appropriate facilities and teaching opportunities.

The Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship

provides a non-renewable grant of up to \$8,000 to a student writing a dissertation on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences. All degree requirements, up to the dissertation, must be completed when 1999-2000 award is taken up. Write to request an application.

The Dorosh Master's Fellowship awards up to \$4,500 to a student writing a thesis on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences. This

grant is non-renewable. All degree requirements, up to the thesis, must be completed when 1999–2000 award is taken up. Write to request an application.

Research Grants in Ukrainian Studies fund research Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in history, literature, language, education, or social sciences. Write to request an application.

Deadline for all: May 1, 1999. Contact: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 352 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton AB, Canada T6G 2E8; Tel: 403-492-2972; Fax: 403-492-4967.

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Academic Year Fellowships allow U.S. citizens and permanent residents to acquire a high level of foreign language competency. Fellowships are awarded to graduate students in modern foreign languages and area studies, with priority given to the humanities, social sciences, and professional fields. To be eligible for a FLAS in Russian, you must have completed 27 quarter or 18 semester units in the language, or have otherwise achieved the equivalent proficiency. The award for continuing students is \$11,000. Deadline: February 5, 1999.

Summer Intensive Language Training fellowships pay the cost of the language program and provide a stipend of \$2,500. Awarded to graduate students for intensive language training (at least 120 class hours) for a period of one to two months. Deadline: March 5, 1999.

Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>

Human Rights Center

Human Rights Fellowships award \$2,500 to fund summer projects and/or internships with human rights organizations related to the student's area of study. Registered UC Berkeley and Graduate Theological Union students are eligible to apply. Deadline: February 12, 1999. Contact: Harvey M. Weinstein, Associate Director, Human Rights Center, UC Berkeley, 460 Stephens Hall #2300, Berkeley CA 94720-2300; Tel: 510-642-0965; Fax: 510-643-3830.

Institute of International Studies

IIS offers various fellowships awards for Berkeley graduate students conducting various predissertation and dissertation research projects that explore social science issues on an international scale. Deadline: April 5, 1999. Contact: IIS Fellowship Coordinator, UC Berkeley, 215 Moses Hall # 2308, Berkeley, CA 94720-2308; <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/fellowship/>.

International Research and Exchanges Board

The **Russian-U.S. young Leadership Fellows Program** provides one year of intensive academic and professional training to young U.S. and Russian leaders in American and Russian area studies, conflict resolution, economics, government studies, history, international relations, and

political science. The one year of non-degree academic study, community service, and internship is provided by round-trip travel, living stipends, medical insurance, and tuition. Deadline: February 26, 1999. Download an application at <http://www.irex.org/programs/ylp/> or contact IREX by telephone or email.

Special Projects in Library and Information Science award up to \$10,000 in grants for librarians, archivists, and information specialists pursuing projects relating to Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia. These grants are meant to increase access and improve working conditions for American scholars using libraries, archives, and other resources in those regions. Grants paid to U.S. citizens or permanent residents; non-Americans may apply in collaboration with American scholars. Deadline: March 31, 1999.

Contact for both: IREX, 1616 H St NW, Washington DC 20006; Tel: 202-628-8188; Fax: 202-628-8189; irex@irex.org; <http://www.irex.org>.

National Council for Eurasian and East European Research

The **National Research Competition** awards up to \$70,000 for Research Contracts and up to \$40,000 for Research Grants. This funding allow U.S.-based post-doctoral scholars to conduct research on Eurasia and Eastern Europe. Research Contracts funds collaborative research and will be given as an institutional award. Research Grants fund individuals. Deadline: February 15, 1999. Contact: NCEEER, 910 17th St NW Ste 300, Washington DC 20006; Tel: 202-822-6950; Fax: 202-822-6955; nceer@nceer.org; <http://www.nceer.org>.

National Research Council

The postdoctoral **Young Investigator Programs** offer a fifteen- to twenty-day session in a foreign country for the summer of 1999. Three programs are available: Energy in Armenia; Trauma in Bosnia-Herzegovina; and Health Impacts of Nuclear Testing in Russia and Kazakhstan. Applicants must be U.S. citizens, green card holders, or permanent residents, and applicants must have received a Ph.D. between January 1, 1991 and July 1, 1999. Complete information is at the website below. Deadline: February 17, 1999. Contact: Stephen Deets, 202-334-2658 or sdeets@nas.edu; Office for central Europe and Eurasia, National Academy of Sciences, 2102 Constitution Avenue NW FO 2014, Washington DC 20418; <http://www2.nas.edu/oia/21e6.html>.

University of California

Dissertation-Year Fellowships are awarded to eligible graduate students with strong potential for university teaching and research and whose doctoral work will be completed by the end of the program. Applicants must be a U.S. citizen or permanent resident whose background and life experiences enhance the diversity with the department or discipline. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak to your advisor

about being nominated. Deadline: March 3, 1999. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>.

U.C. Berkeley

Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowships are awarded to outstanding students in the humanities and social sciences. Applicants must be advanced to candidacy at the time of the award and expect to finish their dissertations during the fellowship year. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak to your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: March 3, 1999. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>.

Mentored Research Awards give academically promising graduate students the opportunity to do research that they would not be able to do otherwise and help to develop and strengthen their working relationships with faculty advisors. Applicants must be a U.S. citizen or permanent resident whose background and life experiences enhance the diversity with the department or discipline. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak to your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: March 3, 1999. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>.

U.S. Department of Education

Jacob K. Javits Fellowships provide up to four years of support to fund graduate study at the doctoral or MFA level in selected fields in the arts, humanities, and social sciences. Applicants must be U.S. citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: March 19, 1999. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>.

Woodrow Wilson Center

East European Studies Short-term Grants award a stipend of \$80 a day, up to one month, for research in Washington, D.C. while residing there. U.S. citizens or permanent residents may apply, and no office space is provided. Deadline: March 1, 1999; June 1, 1999; September 1, 1999.

East European Studies Junior Scholars Training Seminar. Scholars participate in a training seminar in August 1999 on the Chesapeake Bay outside Washington. Ph.D. students at the dissertation level or those with a Ph.D. since 1996, studying any field of East European or Baltic studies, excluding Russia and the FSU, may apply. Application requirements are listed at <http://wwics.si.edu/PROGRAMS/REGION/ees/frontpage.html>. Deadline: April 15, 1999.

Contact for both: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; haynesai@wwic.si.edu.

Kennan Institute Short-Term Grants provide a stipend of \$80 a day, up to one month, to fund research in Washington, D.C. on Russian, post-Soviet, and East European studies. Graduate students and postdocs may apply. Deadline: March 1, 1999; June 1, 1999; September 1, 1999. Contact: Fellowships and Grants, Nancy Popson, Kennan Institute, 370 L'Enfant Promenade SW Ste 704, SI MRC 930, Washington DC 20024-2518; Tel: 202-287-3400; Fax: 202-287-3772; ngill@sivm.si.edu; <http://wwics.si.edu/>.

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